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THE ESKIMO TRADE JARGON OF HERSCHEL ISLAND

By V. STEFÁNSSON

WHETHER white men have remained for a year or more in definite contact with the Eskimo people there has sprung up a more or less complete system of jargon talk mutually serviceable to both parties. In some such well-known examples of jargon as Pigeon English, the basis is a European tongue or a number of European tongues ; in the jargon employed by the Eskimo in dealing with either white men or Indians the basis is (so far as known to the writer) always distinctly Eskimo. At the root of many nouns, however, lies an English word, but it is usually so metamorphosed as to be well-nigh unrecognizable — witness Point Barrow jargon *u'-ra*, derived from 'rice.'

It is necessarily difficult to one habituated to the use of an inflected language to become perfect in the use of an agglutinative tongue. Speaking without definite knowledge, the writer supposes it more difficult to learn Eskimo than Chinese — more difficult through the indefinite variations of an unwritten language contrasted with the precision of a written one ; more difficult also through the lack of suitable dictionaries and the absence of skilled teachers. Nevertheless this is far from being the popular understanding of the case. Since adventures in Labrador became the holiday fashion and Lawrence Mott and others began writing Hudson Bay tales, one meets every week or two someone who has a friend who has been in Hudson bay three months and speaks Eskimo like a native ! Arctic whalers are currently supposed to be masters in the polar tongues, and even our Government has lent its countenance to the publication by one of them of a book said to be on the Eskimo language but which is in reality a study in ships' trade jargon.

Confronted with the kaleidoscopic changes in form of the real Eskimo speech, the casual observer finds no rhyme nor reason, and the ordinary one does not suspect there is any. If he finds that an

evidently hungry man says *kaak'tuña* when he wants food, that is translated 'hungry'; when subsequent investigation reveals the pronouns *awoña*, *illipsi*, *ila* [I, you (plural), he], the whaler or trader makes up the sentences (1) *awoña kaktuña*, (2) *illipsi kaktuña*, (3) *ila kaktuña*, which he considers to mean respectively 'I am hungry,' 'you are hungry,' 'he is hungry'; and that they eventually come to mean in the jargon. Being interpreted, they read, however, (1) 'I I-am-hungry'; (2) 'you (three or more of you) I-am-hungry'; (3) 'he I-am-hungry.'

An Alaskan missionary has told the writer that on arrival at his post of duty he was instructed as follows by his predecessor (who had been preaching the gospel to the heathen for seven or eight years "in their own language"): "When you want a boat to take you on shipboard, go to anybody who owns a boat and say: '*Ō-mī-ak-pūk a-lak'-tok pī-cū'k-tok a-woñ-a*'; that means: 'I want to go on shipboard.' Taken in order the words really mean, however: 'the ship | he goes | he wants | I.' While the correct Point Barrow form of the expression "I want to go on shipboard" is: *ūm'-ī-ak-pī-ok''-tuña* (abbreviated from *ūm'-ī-ak-pūx-mōx-ō'k-tuña*).

The writer has set down the jargon as nearly as may be in accord with ordinary Herschel island usage, though he is also familiar with it as used at Point Barrow. At Herschel island, indeed, practically all forms of the jargon exist side-by-side, for here gather whalers who have picked it up in Kotzebue sound, at Point Hope, Point Barrow, and at other places—and even one or two who have it from near Marble island on the Atlantic ocean side—from which source we probably have at least the two words *kab-lū'-na*, 'white man,' and *kū'-mī*, 'wife,' 'husband.' As to pronunciation, much depends too on the individual white man—two skippers from Martha's Vineyard may differ widely both in ear and tongue, while in the mouths of Norwegians, Germans, Kanakas, and Cape Verde islanders the words assume varied forms. A semblance of uniformity is possible in a vocabulary like the present only by adopting the Mackenzie River Eskimo pronunciation as used in dealing with whites—which has accordingly been done.

Among the Mackenzie River Eskimo there is, beside the ships' jargon, a more highly developed one used in dealing with the Atha-

basca Indians around Fort Arctic, Red River, and Fort Macpherson. This form is unfortunately but slightly known to the writer. It has probably more than twice as extensive a vocabulary as the ships' variety and is so different from it that some white men who know the ships' jargon have employed as interpreters Loucheux Indians under the impression that the Indians spoke real Eskimo. The greatest difference results from the inability of many white men to distinguish the final k sound characteristic of Eskimo words, while the Loucheux not only keep all the final k's and other consonants, but even put k's where they do not belong. By dropping the final consonant the white man often comes near using the *stem* of the word in its proper form. Another difference is in that the Loucheux derive their form usually from the third person singular indicative present, while the whites derive theirs from the corresponding first person singular. The following forms bring out these and other differences.

ENGLISH	LOUCHEUX JARGON FROM ESKIMO	SHIPS' JARGON
hunger, hungry	<i>kak'-tòk</i> from <i>ka-a'k-tòk</i> or <i>ka-a'k-tu-ak</i>	<i>kak'tũñ-a</i> from <i>ka-ak'-tũñ-a</i>
break, broken	<i>na-vìk'-tòk</i> from <i>na-vìk-tòk</i> or <i>na-vìk-tu-ak</i>	<i>na-vìk'-ta</i> from <i>na-vìk-tòk</i> (?)
die, dead	<i>na-vìk'-tòk</i> from <i>na-vìk-tòk</i> or <i>na-vìk-tu-ak</i>	<i>mùk'kì</i> from (Kanaka?)
wife	<i>nũ'-lì-ak</i> from <i>nũ-lì-a(k)</i>	<i>kũ'nĩ</i> from (Danish, <i>kona</i> ?)
that one, he	<i>ũ'-na</i> from <i>ũ'na</i> (that one)	<i>ĩ-la</i> from <i>ĩ'-la</i> (he)
want, wants	<i>pi-cũk'-tòk</i> from <i>pi-cũk-tò'k</i> or <i>pi-cũk'-tũ-ak</i>	<i>pi-cũk'-tũ</i> from <i>pi-cũk'-tòk</i>

Although the Loucheux employ their jargon at present largely in dealing with the Mackenzie Eskimo, the form of their jargon words shows pretty plainly that it (the jargon) must have been developed in contact with inland Eskimo or those from near Point Barrow. This is rendered probable, too, through our knowing that from remote times there was a trading rendezvous at Barter island where met not only Eskimo from east, west, and inland, but also one or more groups of Indians. At that time (forty or more years ago) the Indians and Eskimo were in continual hostility on the

Mackenzie river. The following words are introduced for comparison ; the list could be indefinitely lengthened. So far as known to the writer this comparison gives us the only available clew as to what Indians they were with whom the Point Barrow Eskimo in ancient times exchanged goods at Barter island and Collinson point.

ENGLISH	LOUCHEUX JARGON	PT BARROW OR INLAND ESKIMO	MACKENZIE RIVER ESKIMO
good	<i>na-gō'-rōk</i>	<i>na-gō'-rōk</i>	<i>na-gō'-yū-ak</i>
wood	<i>kē'-rūk</i>	<i>kē'-rūk</i>	<i>kē'-yūg</i>
now	<i>pūg-mūm'-mī</i>	{ <i>pūg'-mūm-mī</i> or <i>kag'-mūm-mī</i>	<i>kag'-ma</i>

Some whalers and traders who deal with Eskimo try to make use of their knowledge of word changes, with results amusing to the Eskimo, for while he is hardened to the jargon he finds attempts at correctness laughable. Most whalers, for instance, when speaking of going ashore, will use the uninflected (accusative) form of the word for 'land' (*nū'-na*); others have noticed that the Eskimo says he is going *nū'-na-mūn* ('toward or to the land') and have translated this (mentally) 'on shore.' Accordingly they will thereafter use the termination *-mūn* in a locative sense as well as in its real terminal one, and will speak of a tent being *nunamun*, 'toward the shore,' when they mean to say it is on shore.

Mistakes of this character, as well as many others, are likely to get upon our maps. An instance is Beechey point, the native name of which is *Ō-līk'-tōk*. If you ask a man "Where are we now?" he will answer (using the locative case), "*Ō-līk-tō'-nī*," 'at Oliktok'; ask him where his tent is, or where deer hunting is good, and he may answer "*Ō-līk-tō'-nī*." Accordingly every white man who knows the place by an Eskimo name knows it as *Ō-līk-tō-nī* or *Ō-līk-tō'-nī*, and so it may one day appear in some Government report and become authoritative — as many such things have become "authoritative" in the past. It would truly seem absurd not to take the word of men who live in the neighborhood and who have had Eskimo wives for nearly twenty years.

It is rarely the jargon makes a difference between singulars and plurals, while the dual may be said to be never recognized. Occa-

sionally the singular *il-lū-it* (thou) and the plural *i-lip'-sī* (you, three or more) are differentiated, and still more rarely *in'-nūk* (a man) and *in'-nū-it* (men, three or more). A friend of the writer's at Herschel island had discovered the form *ē-lip'-tik* (you, two of you) and had been told it meant "you two." As spoken, this sounded like "you too" and was accordingly given the writer in that signification as a bit of special knowledge possessed only by the informant. This is the writer's only experience with the dual in actual use in the jargon.

The suffix *-lūk*, *-hlūk*, *-qlūk*, which has entered such (rarely used) jargon words as *ōk-tcūk-lūk*, *tūk-tū-lūk*, is of some special interest. Primarily it means 'bad,' 'wretched,' 'wicked,' 'worthless,' 'spoilt.' What the Mackenzie (the same holds of some others) Eskimo thought of certain white men's wares is shown pretty well by *kam'-mīk-hlūk* (makeshift pants) for cloth pants, *ōk-tcūk-hlūk* (spoilt oil) for kerosene, *tūk-tū-qlūk* (bad deer meat) for pork or bacon, *tañ-a'-qlūk*, molasses, etc. In other words, these names bear out pretty well the Eskimo statement that when on board ships they found eating white men's food a sore trial and considered their clothes (as they still consider them) makeshifts at best.

In a system of speech comprising only a limited number of uninflected words, much depends on circumstances and context as to the interpretation of any set of them. A sentence perfectly intelligible and definite when used in the course of a conversation between men who are face to face may become of uncertain meaning, of many meanings, or no meaning at all, if divorced from its accompanying gestures and set down isolated in writing or print.

Take as an instance the jargon sentence *Kim-mīk ka'i-lī pī-cā'k-tū* (see vocabulary for meaning of words). If it were in answer to "Why are you whistling?" it would mean "Because I want the dog [e. g., my dog, his dog, the dogs, your dogs] to come. If it were in answer to "Why do you want Jim?" it might mean "Because I want him to bring a dog [his dog, my dog, etc.] to me." If it were an answer to "Why are you locking the door?" it might mean "Because the dogs keep trying to get into the house." If in answer to "Why did Jim go to Fort Macpherson?" it might mean

"Because he wants to get dogs there"—and so on, world without end. It will therefore be understood that the translations given for the illustrative sentences in the body of the vocabulary are but a few among the many possible meanings of the word combinations used.

VOCABULARY OF THE HERSCHEL ISLAND JARGON

The system of spelling used is that of Powell's *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*. Where a word has two accents, the minor accent is indicated by ' and the major by ''.

In some cases (e. g., *tě'rěva*) it is evident the jargon word is derived from a form other than that cited for Mackenzie river. When the Point Barrow, Inland, or Western form is known to the writer, it is inserted (see, e. g., *těřgandīa*).

As *c* is used as the equivalent of (English) *sh*, words containing this character are entered where they would stand if spelled with *sh*.

The writer cannot vouch for the syllabification of every Eskimo word in this vocabulary—he bases it entirely on his own pronunciation of the word, which is likely in some cases to be open to material criticism. This paper is written where it is unfortunately impossible to refer to a person speaking the Mackenzie dialect for verification of accent or division into syllables.

The vocabulary is briefer by a good number of words through the omission of most common and proper nouns that are only slightly-corrupted English and which would be readily understood by a newcomer in the Arctic.

Any jargon word may by itself be used as a question, or any combination of words may be so used. The question, if not required by the context, is indicated by inflexion.

VOCABULARY

a'-ba-ba (Kanaka?), say, speak, give orders; speech. *ō-mě'-līk a'baba ca'-vik ka'ili i-li'p-si*, the captain orders you to bring him a knife. *ababa pī'tcūk*, shut up! (according to context, may also mean he said nothing, I said nothing, etc.). *ababa tusa'ra pī'-tcūk*, I heard no talking.

a'-dī-ga'' (used as an exclamation by inland Alaskan Eskimo, at Pt Barrow and westward = fine! excellent! handsome! etc.), pretty,

good, desirable; used also to differentiate holiday from ordinary clothes, as *awōn'ga adiga kam'mik*, my ornamented (i. e. Sunday-go-to-meeting) boots.

ad'la (used by Esk. west of Herschel island), another, the other. *i'-la adla in'nūk*, that is another man.

ai-pa'-nī (Mackenzie Esk. *aipa'nī*, last year, or any time longer ago than last year, but less than a generation), last year, long ago.

ai'-pañ-a (Western Esk. *ai'pañā*, his other one), the other, the second of two. *aipaña kam-mik na-vik'-ta*, the other boot is torn. *ōmē'lik aipaña*, the first mate (i. e. the captain's second, or rather, the second, therefore lesser, captain).

ai'-tcu (Mac. Esk. *ai''-tcō-i-xa'*, I give him), give, pay, give in exchange. *awōn'a ca'vik ai'tcū*, *ila awōn'a eka'l'luk ta'llimat a'itcū*, I gave him a knife (for which) he gave me five fish.

a'k-kī-a (Mac. Esk. *ak'kicak*, something to be traded; *akkisūyūak*, it is expensive), buy, sell, trade; the thing intended for or obtained in trade. *akkia añaninni picū'ktu pītčūk*, I don't want to pay a big price, he does not ask a big price, etc.

a'k-lū-na (Mac. Esk. *aklūnak*, now a general name for rope, line, etc., though it may have had more restricted meaning before whites came), thread, string, rope, chain (*ca'-vik aklūña*), dog harness (*kiñma aklūña*), etc. *ak'lūña mē'k-fast kiñma*, tie the dog with a rope (or string, chain, etc.).

a'-mī-a (Mac. Esk. *a'miak*, skin of an animal (not of a man), bark of tree, husk or shell of a seed, etc.), skin, fur.

a'-na (Mac. Esk. *an'nū*), harness, dog harness. *awōña kiñma a'na ca-bakto*, put harness on my dog. (Most whalers use in place of *ana*, "*kiñma artegī*" or "*kiñma akluna*."')

a'-na-na (possibly Kanaka, though *an'nēnnak* is said to be used at Pt Barrow in sense of the 'cause of' or 'reason for,' a pain), sick, sickness. *kuni anana añaninni*, my wife (or husband) is very sick.

añ-a-nin'nī (Mac. Esk. *añ-i-yū-ak*, it is big; possibly from West. Esk. *añ-i-nirk-cūk*, it is quite large), big, much, very; as big price, very fast running, very heavy, etc., when combined properly, as *elekta kīlamik añaninni*, he (or I, they, it, etc.) travel (run, sail, etc.) very fast.

an-au'-ta (Mac. Esk. *anau'tak*, an ax, club), ax; *anauta mikaninni*, hatchet.

an'-nū-ī (Mac. Esk. *an'-nū-i*), wind; *annui añaninni*, storm, blizzard.

a'-pun (Mac. Esk. *a'pun*, general term for snow lying on the ground, as opposed to drifting or falling snow), snow.

ar-tē'gī (Mac. Esk. *ar'tēgi*, coat), coat covering, harness (*kiñma artēgi*).

a"-tcū' (Mac. Esk. *ā-tcū'*, I don't know), I don't know, he does not know (used with *ababa*, i. e. *ababa ātcū'*, he says he does not know); used also for perhaps, if, either-or, as *uñasīcu tautuk awoñga atcu tuktu atcu kēruk añaninni*, I saw far away either a deer or a large piece of wood. *atcu oblakun sila ñagorok*, perhaps it will be good weather tomorrow.

at'-ka (Mac. Esk. *a'tirk*, name; *at'-ka* = his name), name.

a'-va-ně (Mac. Esk. *ab'-vak*), half, as *palawwūk avaně*, half (a sack of) flour.

a-wo'-ña (Mac. Esk. *ūwū'ña*), I, my, as *awoña kammik*, my boots.

boi'-lē-rū (English boil), to boil, cook by boiling, as *nekke boileru*, boil the meat.

dak'-tū (Mac. Esk. *d'aktuak*, it is dark — the *d* has an explosive sound which really makes it more nearly equivalent to English *t*; many whalers accordingly say *tak'tu*), darkness; dark, black.

ě-kal'-lūk (Mac. Esk. *ěkal'lūk*), fish.

ě-lěk'-ta (Mac. Esk. *aud-la'k-tu-ak*, he goes, travels), go, travel, run, fly, swim, etc.; used also of inanimate things, as rifle bullets; also has meaning of break off, become loose. *ělēkta!* go! *kikia ělēkta*, the nail pulled out (or broke). *kaukau homolūktu kimmik kilamik ělēkta*, dogs travel fast when they have plenty to eat.

ěl'-lōpa (possibly Kanaka, though universally used now by Eskimo everywhere west of Herschel island at least as far as the Kuwūk), cold, it is cold, I am cold, etc. *awoña artēgi ěllōpa picuktu pītčūk*, my coat is warm (i. e. it does not want cold). This sentence illustrates pretty well the flexibility of the jargon).

han'naha'нна (Kanaka?), to sew, sewing. *wai'hinni artēgi annahanna pūgmūmmi* (or *annahanna čabakto pūgmūmmi*), the woman is sewing a coat now.

hō-mō-lūk'-tū (Kanaka?), plenty, many, much. *ekalluk hōmōlūktū*, plenty fish.

īg'-lū (Mac. Esk. *īg'-lu*), house, though usually used of native houses.

īg'-lū-pūk (Inland and Western Esk. *īg'lūpūk*, a big house, usually used of white men's houses), at Herschel island means primarily the Hudson's Bay Co.'s trading-post, Fort Macpherson, though used of the police barracks at Herschel island. At Pt Barrow used of any of the big white men's houses. *awoña iglupūk ělēkta*, I am going (I went) to Fort Macpherson.

īg-ně'-ra-vik (Mac. Esk. *īg-ně'-ra-vik*, a place for fire), stove.

ig'nĭ (Mac. Esq. *ig'-nĭrk*), fire.

ĭk-pŭk'-cak (Mac. Esk. *ikpŭkcak*, yesterday), yesterday, last time — used for any past time less than a year.

ĭ'-kŭt-ta (Mac. Esk. *ĭ'kŭ-ŭn*, a small oil-soaked stick kept lying beside the native lamp, to be lit and used whenever needed as a torch, or to light a pipe, etc.), matches.

ĭ'-la (Mac. Esk. *ĭ'-la*, or *ĭl'-ya*), he, she, it.

ĭl-lĭp-sĭ (Mac. Esk. sing. *ĭl'-lŭ-ĭt*, dual *ĭ-lĭp'-tĭk*, pl. *ĭ-lĭp'-sĭ*), you.

ĭ-lu-a'-ne (Mac. Esk. *ĭ-lu-a-ni*, in the inside of), in, inside, as *iluane kammik*, inside boots, i. e. socks.

ĭ'-mĕk (Mac. Esk. *im'mek*, water; *ĭ-mer-ŭk'-tŭ-ak*, he wants water), water. *imĕk picuktu*, I want a drink.

ĭñ'-ĭ-tĭn, ĭn'-nĭ-tĭn (Mac. Esk. *in-nĭ'-tŭ-ak*, he sits down; form probably derived from imperative (sing.) *in-nĭ-tĭn*, sit down), sit, sit down. *innitĭn picuktu*, I want to sit down, he wants to sit down; *kamotik kolane innitĭn*, sit on top of the sled.

ĭn'-nŭk (Mac. Esk. *in'nŭk*, a human being, homo, man; seldom used by whalers to refer to women). This is only one of the few words of which certain whalers occasionally use the plural form if referring to many, as *in-nŭ-ĭt homolŭktu*, many people.

kab-lŭ'-na. Of Greenlandic? (Eskimo?) origin. Mac. Esk. use *sŭ-blŭ-a-raun'*, Inland Esk. *tan'-nŭk*, West. Esk. *nal-lŭ-ax'-mĭ-ŭ(k)*, white man. *kabluna kammik*, white men's boots.

kai-li (Mac. Esk. *kai'-yŭ-ak*, he comes: derived from the imperative (probably) *kaili*, bring it here), come, bring it, etc. *anauta kaili*, bring the ax; *innuk kaili*, there is a man coming; *ababa innuk kaili*, tell (some) man to come here.

kak'-kŏ-lak (Mac. Esk. *kak'-kŏ-lak*. Original meaning of word?), hard bread, pilot bread.

kak'-tuñ-a (Mac. Esk. *ka-ak'-tŭ-ñā*, I am hungry), hungry, hunger, appetite (starvation = *kak-tuñā mŭkki*); *kaktuñā awoñā*, I am hungry; *kaktuñā mŭkki innuk kŏpŭk*, people are starving at Kŏpŭk.

ka'-lĭ-kŏ (Eng. calico), any kind of woven or knitted stuff. *tupek kaliko*, tent drilling; *kaliko kammik*, socks (e. g. woolen).

kam'-mĭk (Mac. Esk. *kam-mak*, trousers), boots, socks, trousers, etc.

ka-mŏ'-ta (Mac. Esk. *kāmŏ'tĭk*), sled.

ka-nĭt'-tŭ (Mac. Esk. *ka-nĭt'-tu-ak*, it is near), near.

kap-sais' (Eng. capsiz), capsiz, upset, spill, throw away (from a pan, dipper, pail, etc.), turn upside down. *mŭgwa kapsais silatani*, empty this (e. g. slop pail) out of doors.

kap-si'-nik (Mac. Esk. *kap'-cit*), how many?

kau'-kau (Kanaka? possibly related to our "chowchow"), food, to eat, to bite. *kaukau pitcūk owoxña*, I have no food, or, I have not eaten. *kimmik innuk kaukau picūktū*, the dog bites (is inclined to bite) people. Used also of mosquitoes, etc., stinging or biting.

kē'-rūk (Mac. Esk. *kē'rūk*), wood. Used in many ways; e. g., *tiglarau-tan kērūk* may be (one ship) yard, boom, jibboom, bowsprit, or even the masts.

kē'tcēm (Eng. catch-him, or catch them), get, take, etc. *iglupūk elekta ilipsi iglupūk kammik ketcem*; *awoña picuktu*: when you go to Macpherson get some Macpherson shoes (i. e. Indian moccasins); I want them. ("Get them; I want them," is the usual jargon way of saying "get them for me.")

kī'-kī-a (Mac. Esk. *kī-kī-ak*, a nail), nail, nails.

kī-kī-ū'-na (Mac. Esk. *kī-kī-ū'-nak*), a box.

kī-la'-mīk (Mac. Esk. *kī-la'-mīk*, quick), quick, quickly.

kī'-na [Mac. Esk. *kī'-na*, *kīn'-ya*, or *kī'-nya*, who: used of people, dogs (and all things considered alive?)], who, which, which one. *kīna omiakpūk tautuk*?, which ship did you see?

kīū'-ma (Mac. Esk. *kīm-mīrk*), a dog.

kīs'-sī-mī, **kī-tcī-mī** (Mac. *kissimi*, only, alone), only, alone, nothing else. *palauwūk kissimi picuktu illuit*?, do you want nothing but flour.

kō-la'-ne (Mac. Esk. *kō'-la''*, above), above, on top of, the top.

kūb'-ra, **kūb'-dja** (Mac. Esk. *kūb'-djak*, a net), a net — for fish or seal.

kūd'-la, **kōd'-la** (Mac. Esk. *kō-ōd'-lik*, a lamp), a lamp, lantern: some whalers use *na'-ne-rō-a*, a West. Esk. term for a white men's lantern.

kūk'-kem (Eng. cook-them), to cook, to be cooked. *nekke kukkem picuktu*, I want cooked meat, or, I want to cook meat.

kū'-nī, **kūn'-ya** (may be derived from Danish (Greenlandic) *kona*, woman, and brought to Herschel island by whalers who had previously sailed in the eastern Arctic), wife, husband.

kwak (among some groups of Eskimo *kwak* refers to any frozen flesh-meat, fish; among some it is restricted to frozen meat, among others to frozen fish), frozen, as *awoña kwakañaninni*, I got badly frozen (used also of frozen food: *kwak kaukau*, he eats frozen food).

ma'-nī (Mac. Esk. *ma'-nī*, locative case), here, in this (or that) place; hither. *ababa Kū'nak mani kaili*, tell Kunak to come here.

mēk'-fast [Eng. make fast], tie, fasten, hitch up. *kīn'-ma kamotik mēk-fast*, hitch the dogs to the sled.

mě-la'-tcūk (Eng. molasses), molasses, syrup.

mikaninni (Kanaka? cf. *pickaninny*), small, little; a child; (even) a full grown son or daughter (man or dog).

mī-ki-rū'-ra (Mac. Esk. *mī'kiyūak*, it is small; Inland Esk. *mī'kirok*, it is small), a little. (*mikaninni* is more often used for "small.")

mī'-lūk. This is, in a way, an interesting form. The whites who use it consider it a corruption of the English "milk," while to the Eskimo it is their own word "*mī'-lūk*," which refers to any milk (human, caribou, etc.). Some groups of Eskimo west of the Mackenzie use also the form *ī'-mūk*, but most, if not all, words used to refer to milk, milking, sucking, nursing a child, etc., are formed on the *mīlūk* (and not the *ī'mūk*) stem. An imaginative theorizer on the fate of the lost Icelandic colonies in Greenland¹ might further point out that as the Icelanders are the only dairying people with whom the Eskimo are known to have come in contact in ancient times, the Icelandic form of this word becomes interesting. In the spelling employed in the present vocabulary the Icelandic *mjo'lk* would become *mī'-ōlk*. The two forms (Eskimo *mī'-lūk*, Icelandic *mī'-ōlk*) are decidedly easier to reconcile than some with which Thalbitzer is considered to have succeeded so well. It is evident that they are no farther apart than are the following words used to-day at Herschel island and derived from English within the last twenty years.

mě-la'-tūk from molasses

pa-lau'-wūk " flour

nī'-tū " tea

ka'-pī " coffee

rai'-pa from rifle

pau'-ra " powder

ū'-ra " rice

The following are from Point Barrow:

tak'-tī from doctor

pū'-rē " Fred

mī'-tī from Mister

pau'-dlū " powder

and other forms still more bewildering.

mīt'-kū (Mac. Esk. *mīt-ku(k)*, the hair of an animal; e. g. a fox), hair (human or animal), beard.

mūg'-wa (Mac. Esk. *mūg-wa*, that one), this, these, those, they.

mūk'-kī [(Kanaka?) but now used by many Eskimo west of Mackenzie, with all the proper changes of form, instead of their own *d'ē'kōrōk*, he is dead], dead, broken (as a wrecked ship; cf. *navikta*).

¹ See the writer's article, The Icelandic Colony in Greenland, *American Anthropologist*, 1906, vol. 8, 262.

- mûk'-kî-tîn** (from imperative sing. of Mac. Esk. *mûk-kî tû'yû-ak*, he stands up), stand up, get up (out of bed); wake up.
- mûk-pau'-ra** (probably from *mok-pûk*, a small football kicked around by girls), fried bread, doughnuts.
- mûk-pra** (Mac. Esk. *mûkpërak*, paper; cf. *mûp-tu-gi-sû-yu-ak*, it is very thin), paper, letter, book, newspaper. *mûkpra cabakto*, to write a letter, read a book, etc.
- na-gō'-rōk** (Mac. Esk. *nagō'yûak*, it is good; Inland Esk. *nagō'rok*, it is good), good—in various senses, as strong, willing to work, not a thief, good to taste, etc.
- na-na'-kō** (Kanaka?), after a while, by and by, afterward, later. *tuktu mûkki ila nanakō elekta*, he killed (some) caribou, then he went away.
- na'-nē-rē-a** (Mac. Esk. *na-nē-rē'-ak*, now used for steel traps also, though formerly the name for the log, ice, or stone deadfalls), a trap. *tërëgandër nanerea cabakto*, to trap white foxes.
- nap'-pa** (West. Esk. *nûp-pak* (?)), half. Cf. *a-va-nē*.
- na-vîk'-ta** (Mac. Esk. *na-vîk-tu-ak*, it is broken), broken, torn; dead. Cf. *mûkki*, which ordinarily is used for dead, to kill, etc.
- nēk'-kē** (Mac. Esk. *nîr'-kîr*), meat.
- nû'-na** (Mac. Esk. *nû'-na*, land, earth), land, earth, sand, gravel, etc. *nuna elekta awoña picuktu*, I want to go ashore.
- ō-bla'-kō** (Mac. Esk. *ō-bla'-kûn*), tomorrow.
- ō-blû'-mi** (Mac. Esk. *ō-blû'-mi*), today.
- ō'-kî-o** (Mac. Esk. *ō'-kî-ōk*), winter. *okio nanako*, next winter. For past winters the expressions run: *okio ikpûkcak*, last winter; *okio aipani kanittu*, a winter not long ago; *okio uñacikcu*, a winter long ago; *okio añaninni uñacikcu*, a winter very long ago; *malo okio aipani*, two winters ago.
- ōk'-tcûk** (Mac. Esk. *ōk'-tcûk*. This word is pronounced *ōg'-rōg*, *ūg'-rūg*, *ūg'-rū*, etc., by whalers, who have picked up the word at Pt Barrow or farther west. Inland Esk. *ōq'-ō-rōk*), fat, oil, blubber, etc. *kiñma oktcûk mikirura*, the dog is not fat, or, there is little blubber for dog feed, etc.
- ōk'-tcûk-lûk** (Mac. Esk. *ōk'-tcûk-glûk'*, bad, spoilt, or ill-smelling oil), kerosene. Some whalers, etc., use “*tîpi oktcûk*” (evil-smelling oil—literally) to designate “kerosene.”
- ō-kûm-mai'-tcû** (Mac. Esk. *ō-kûm-mai-tcû-ak*, it is heavy), heavy.
- ō-mē'-lîk** (Mac. Esk. *ūm-i-a'-lîk*, owner of an umiak (big skin boat), or, simply, a rich man), captain, boss, rich man.

ō-mē'-līk ai'-pañ-a (see *aipaña*) ; first mate of a ship ; second in command.

ō-mī-ak'-pūk (Mac. Esk. *ūm-ī-ak'-pūk*, a large umiak — though Mac. Esk. indicate bigness usually by *-ai'-ak* and *-pa'-luk* where Eskimo to the west use *-pūk* and *-cū'-grūk*), a ship.

ō'-mī-ak pau'-ra (Mac. Esk. *ūm-ī-ak-pau'-yak*, a little big boat — used of whaleboats usually, but sometimes of schooners and sloops), a whaleboat, a wooden boat.

ō-nak'-tu (Mac. Esk. *ōn-ak'-tu-ak*, it is a warm, hot), warm, hot.

ō-pīn'-ēr-a (West. Esk. generally *ō-pīn'-er-ak*), summer. For designation of past summers, cf. *okio*. *nanako opinera malo tereva awoña-kaili suli picuktu*, after two summers are finished I want to come again.

pa-lau'-wūk (Eng. flour), flour, bread.

pau'-dlū (Eng. powder), gunpowder.

pī-cūk'-tū (Mac. Esk. *pī-cūk-tū-ak*, he wants, desires), want, be inclined to, to allow. For examples of use, see under *ellopa*, *opinera*, and various other words.

pī-cū-nīt'-tcū, pī-cūñ-nīt'-tcū (Mac. Esk. *pī-cūñ-nīt-tcuña*, I do not desire, I do not want), not to want, not necessary, needless. *tērēgandia picunittcu*, I do not want fox-skins (or, he does not, etc.). *oblumi kaili picunittcu*, he does not need to come to-day.

pī'-tcūk (Mac. Esk. *pī-tcūk*, nothing ; i. e. if I should ask a man "what's in that pail?" he might look into it and answer: "*pī-tcūk*," "there is nothing there"), no, not, nothing. This is perhaps the most useful term in the entire jargon vocabulary. Combined with any adjective it gives the opposite meaning — e. g. *nagorok* = good, *nagorok pītčūk* = bad ; *ellopa* = cold, *ellopa pītčūk* = warm, etc. Combined with *picuktu* it gives such useful phrases as *imek pītčūk*, meaning "he does not want water," or, "it is water-tight." *opinera sila ellopa picuktu pītčūk*, in summer the weather does not want to be cold ; i. e. is inclined to be in general warm.

pōk'-sak (Esk. *pōk*, a bag, English "sack," a bag ; literally therefore a "bag-bag" or "sack-bag"), bag, sack ; any vessel, e. g. *kapi poksak*, coffee-pot.

pūb'-laun (Mac. Esk. *pūb-laun*), baking-powder. An interesting variant is sometimes heard — *pūb'-lau-lū*. This evidently comes from the fact that when an Eskimo gets a sack of flour he always wants baking powder also, and therefore attaches the suffix *-lū* to his word for baking-powder. This has been taken by the trader to be a part of

the word itself, whereas the Eskimo's *pūb-laun-lu* meant "baking-powder also."

pūn'-nī pūn'-nī (Kanaka?), sexual intercourse.

sě'-kě-ně (Mac. Esk. *sīr-kīn-nīrk*), sun.

sě'-kě-ně-ō'-ra (Mac. Esk. *sīr-kīn-nēr-ō'-yak*, likeness of the sun, therefore, watch, clock), watch, clock.

ca-bak'-to (Pt Barrow Esk. *ca-vūk-tok*, he works), to work, make, do, etc.

cag'-lū (Mac. Esk. *cag-lū(k)-tu'-yu-ak*, he tells lies), to lie, a lie, a liar.

cañ'-a-rū (Pt Barrow Esk. *cwūñ-a-rok*, he is strong), strong — as rope, coffee, a man, a dog, etc.

ca'-vīk (Mac. Esk. *sa'-vīk*), a knife, iron.

ca-vī-kō'-ra (Mac. Esk. *ca-vī-kō'-yak*, rice — derivation uncertain; perhaps from *ca'-vī-īt*, the scrapings (like sawdust) from wood or ivory when scraped with a knife), rice.

cī-nīg'-a-vīk (Mac. Esk. *cī-nīg'-a-vīk*, sleeping place), bed.

cī'-nīk (Mac. Esk. *cī-nīk'-tu-ak*, he sleeps), to sleep, asleep, sleep. *cinik tautuk*, to see while sleeping, i. e. to dream.

cō-pūñ (Pt Barrow *cūk'-pūn*, a gun), a gun, a shotgun.

cū'-na (Mac. Esk. *cū'-na*, what, which, — used ordinarily of dead things, as distinguished from live ones), which, what, where, whither. *cuna elekta illuit?* where are you going? *cuna picuktu?* what do you want?

sī'-la (Mac. Esk. *sī'-la*, the outdoors), weather.

sī-la-ta-ni (locative of *sī-la* + *-ta-*, in the outdoors, in the outside), outdoors, outside. *ababa mūgwa sīlatani kaili*, tell them to come out; *iglu sīlatani*, (it is) outside the house.

sī-na'-ni (Inland Esk. *sī-na'-nē* (?) ; Pt Barrow *sennera'a*, by the side — *sēn-nē-ra-ne* (locative) by his side), by the side of, alongside, along. *nuna sinani kamotik elekta awoña*, I traveled by sled along the coast.

sīs'-sī-rū (Pt Barrow Esk. *sī'-sī-rok*, it is hard), hard, stiff; brittle (although for this last meaning is usually used *kilamik navikta picuktu*, it wants to break quickly).

sū'-lī (Pt Barrow Esk. *sū'-lī*), more, also, besides. *kapi suli picuktu awoña*, I want coffee also; or, I want some more coffee.

tai'-ma (Mac. Esk. *tai'-ma*, it is finished, it is enough. *awoña artegi taima?* is my coat finished? *kaukau taima awoña*, I have eaten enough.

tai'-man-na, dai'-man-na (cf. *tai-ma*), this way, so. *awoña tai'manna illipsi cabakto picuktu*, I want you to do it this way.

ta'-kī-rū, ta'-kī-rū-a (Mac. Esk. *ta'-kī-yū-ak*), tall, long.

tañ-ak (Pt Barrow Esk. *tūñ-ak*, whiskey), whiskey, alcohol. [Probably originally of Kanaka or other non-Eskimo origin.]

tar'-rī-ū, tar'-rī-ōk (Mac. Esk. *tar'-rī-ōk*), salt, the sea.

tau'-tuk (Pt Barrow, Inland, and West. Esk. *tau-tūk'-tok*, he sees; Mac. Esk. *ta'-kū-yū-ak*, he sees. This stem is found also at Pt Barrow in occasional use, as *ta-kū-va*), see, visit, hunt, etc. *tuktu tautuk picuktu awoña*, I am hunting caribou: lit. I want to see caribou.

tě-rě-gan'-dī-a, tě-rě-gan'-děr (Mac. Esk. *tě-lě-gan'-ya*, white fox; Pt Barrow form, *tě-rě-gě-nī-ak*): white fox, fox.

tě-rě-va (probably from some West. Esk. form of Mac. Esk. *ta'-dju'-va*, there! there it is!), there! that is enough! enough, finished.

tīg-lar-au'-tan (Mac. Esk. *tīñ-īl-ar-au'-tak*), sail. *tiglarautan cobakto* (according to context), hoist sail, lower sail, reef sail; to sail (a boat or ship); also to rig a boat or ship with sails, to sew sails, etc.

tīg'-līk (Mac. Esk. *tīg-līk-tu-ak*, he steals), to steal, to take; a thief. *tīglik awoña picuktu pitcūk*, I don't want to steal, I don't want to take it, I don't want to cheat you (in a trade).

tī-pī (Mac. Esk. *tīpī(k)*, smell—noun form), to smell, to stink; it smells, stinks. Cf. *oktcūkluk*.

tōks'-ī-pūk (Pt Barrow Esk. *tak'-sī-pūk*, a dark-skinned man), negro.

tūk'-tū (Mac. Esk. *tūk'-tū(k)*, caribou), caribou, deer.

tūk'-tū-lūk (Mac. Esk. *tūk-tū-qlūk*, pork, bacon; i. e. bad deer meat), pork, bacon.

tūk-tū-pūk (Mac. Esk. *tūk-tū-pūk*, horse, cow, etc.), beef.

tū'-pěk (Mac. Esk. *tū-pěk*), tent.

tū-sa'-ra (Mac. Esk. *tū-sar'-yu-ak*, he hears), understand, know; seldom if ever used for "hear" except in combination, as *innuk ababa tusara awoña*, I know that a man is talking (therefore I hear a man talking).

ū'-blū (Mac. Esk. *ūb'-lūr(k)*, day, daylight. *ū'blū kailī pūgmūmmi*, it is just dawning.

ū'-lū (Mac. Esk. *ū'-lū*, the typical Esk. woman's knife), an ulu, or woman's knife.

ūñ'-a-cīk'-cū (Mac. Esk. *ūñ-a-cīk-tū-ak*, it is far off), far. *kimmik nagorok pitcūk uñacīksu elekta picuktu pitcūk awoña*, when I have poor dogs I don't like to make long trips.

SYSTEM OF COUNTING

JARGON	MACKENZIE ESKIMO
1. <i>a-tau'-sik</i>	<i>a-tau'-tcik</i>
2. <i>ma'-lo, mal'-lë-rō</i>	<i>mal'-lër-ðk</i>
3. <i>piñ'-a-sūt</i>	<i>piñ'-a-tcūt</i>
4. <i>sis'-sa-mat</i>	<i>sis-sa-mat, or sī'-ta-mat</i>
5. <i>tal'-li-mat</i>	<i>tal'-li-mat</i>
6. <i>tal'-li-mat a-tau'-sik</i>	<i>ax-rī-va-nī'-li-xit</i>
7. <i>tal'-li-mat malo, or mallerok</i>	<i>mallerok axrivaniligít</i>
8. <i>tal'-li-mat piñasut</i>	<i>piñatcut axrivaniligít</i>
9. <i>tal'-li-mat sissamat</i>	<i>kō-liñ-īl'-lū-at</i>
10. <i>kōl'-lit</i>	<i>kōl'-lit</i>
15. <i>ak-kī'-mī-a</i>	<i>ak-kī'-mī-ak</i>
20. <i>akkip'ia, or in-nū-in'-nak</i>	<i>in-nū-in'-nak</i>
40. <i>malo akkipia</i>	<i>mallerok akkipia</i>
400. (not used)	<i>innuinnak akkipiak</i>

POINT BARROW, ALASKA,

February, 1909.